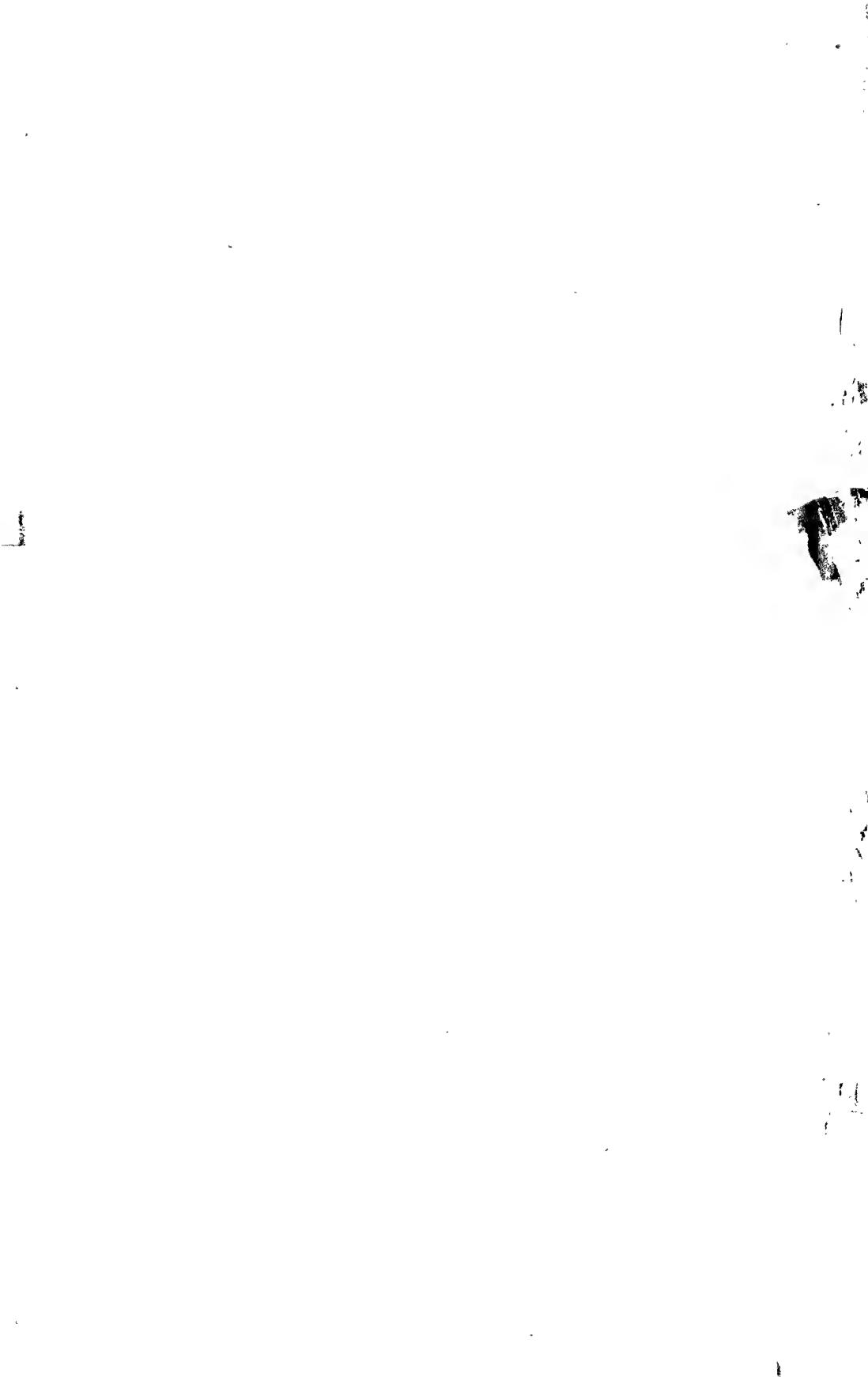




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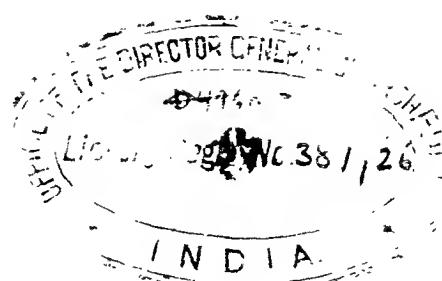
No. 1.

NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE OF DEVAPĀLADEVA

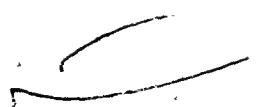
BY

N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

CURATOR, MUSEUM OF THE VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY,



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PREFACE.

Nālandā Copperplate of Devapāla.

More than ten years ago a resolution was passed by our Council of Management to publish certain original articles of Archaeological and Historical interest, as Monographs of the Society. The resolution, unfortunately, was not given effect to. Since then the Society's activities have considerably increased and the want of such a publication is now more keenly felt than before. Such monographs will be welcome to the members of the Society who get at present but little material return for the subscriptions they pay, and will also stimulate research by providing them with a means of expression. The Society is glad to revive the idea and place before the public their first Monograph—viz. "the Nālandā Copperplate of Devapāladeva," contributed by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the Curator.

The thanks of the Society are due to Kumar Hemendra Kumar Ray of Dighapatiya who has very generously provided funds for printing this Monograph. It is hoped that other scholars and donors will come forward with their contributions and enable the Society to continue this series.

Varendra Research Society  
RAJSHAHİ  
The 28th March, 1926.

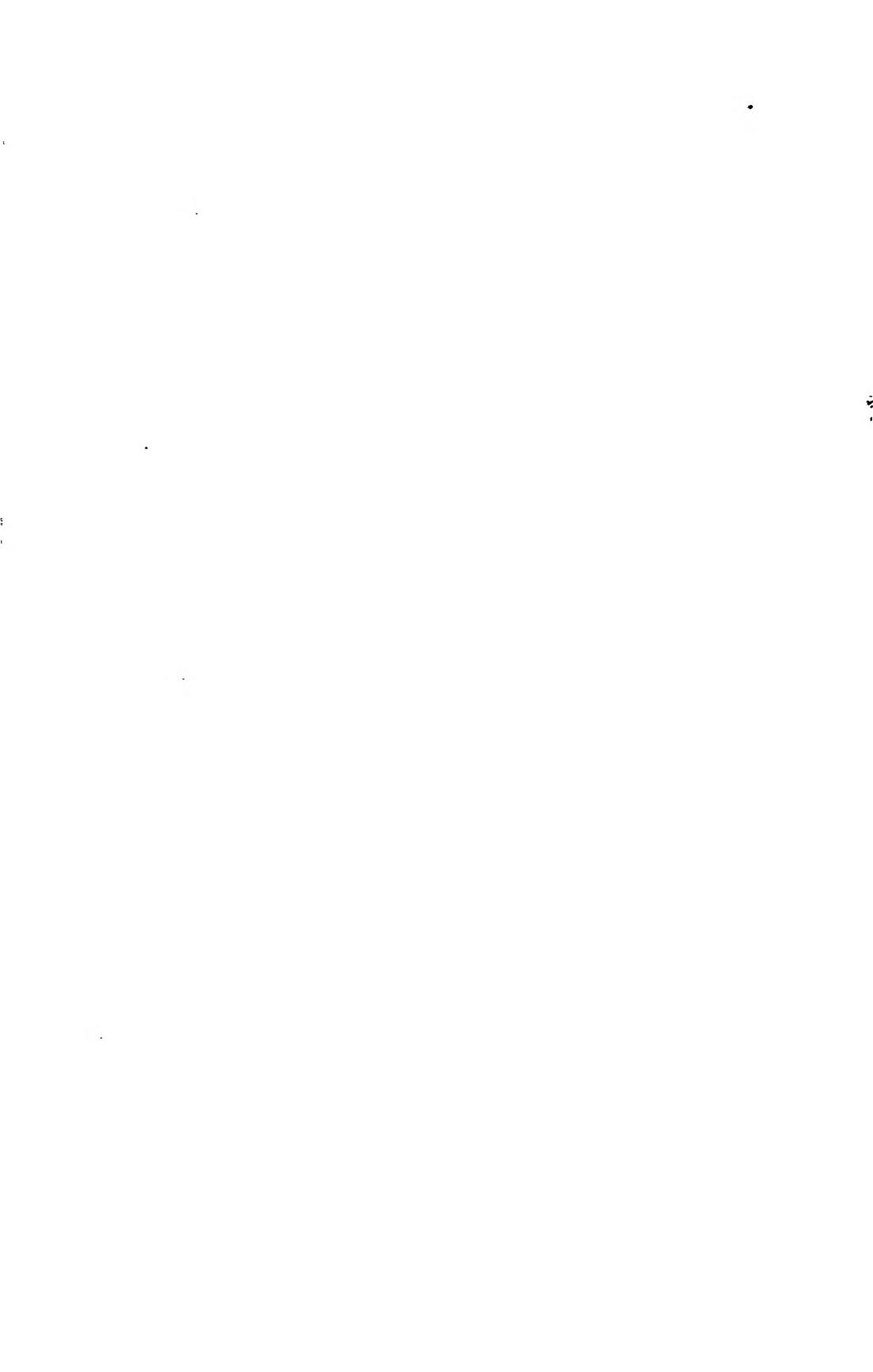
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## NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE OF DEVAPĀLADEVA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

This copper-plate was found in 1921 in course of excavations at Nālandā, modern Bargāon, a station on the Bakhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway, by Mr. Hīrānanda Sāstrī, M.A. A tentative summary of the epigraph was first published in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle*, 1920-21, pp. 37-38 and in the Director-General's *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1920-21, p. 27. Subsequently a more detailed account of its contents was given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Bānglār Itihās*, vol. I (Second edition), pp. 208-10. Recently Mr. Sāstrī has edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-27 and pl. As the record is one of exceptional importance I venture to re-edit it with my own comments, from the excellent facsimile accompanying Mr. Hīrānanda Sāstrī's article as well as a set of inked estampages kindly lent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstrī, B.A., Epigraphist to the Government of India.

This is a single plate inscribed on both the sides. The inscribed surface measures  $1'10'' \times 1'3\frac{1}{2}''$  on one side and  $1'4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1'4''$  on the other. The writing consists of 66 lines. Of these as many as 42 lines are engraved on the obverse and 24 on the reverse. The letters are about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " in size. There is a highly ornamented seal soldered on the top of the plate, bearing the well-known Dharmachakra symbol which was the emblem of the Pāla and Chandra dynasties of Bengal. It represents a wheel placed between two gazelles, symbolising Buddha's first preaching at Sārnāth. Below this representation is the legend *Srī-Devapāladevasya*, i. e., 'of Srī-Devapāladeva,' written across the seal. The ornament thus attached to the plate

interposes between, and causes a gap in the middle of, the first five lines on the obverse and reverse sides of the plate, and projects about  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " above it.

The characters belong to a type of the Northern class of alphabets of about the ninth century A. D., as found in Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla,<sup>1</sup> the Mungir copper-plate of Devapāla<sup>2</sup> and the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīra-deva,<sup>3</sup> which, by Kielhorn, is described as a Magadha variety of the Nāgarī alphabet.<sup>4</sup> Properly speaking, however, it should be called the "Eastern variety of Nāgarī", because it was by no means confined to the territorial limits of Magadha. The inscription contains the final forms of *t* and *m*. Final *t* shows at least three varieties : an inverted one *e.g.* in *skandhāvārāt*, l. 24 ; the ordinary letter *t* with the *virāma* stroke beneath it *e. g.* in *digantarālāt*, l. 23 ; and a slanting one without the top stroke *e. g.* in *samvat*, l. 42. The form of the final *n* may be seen in *abhūvan*, l. 6. According to Mr. Śāstri's reading final *m* occurs in *pitrinām* in l. 9 and in a number of other places. But I have no doubt that in every case it has to be taken as an *anusvāra* sign consisting of a circular dot with a curve or hook below it (somewhat approaching the modern Bengali *anusvāra*) for final *m*. The inscription contains instances of initial *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, and *e*. The initial *ā* is formed by the addition of the *ā-kāra* stroke to the right of *a* as in the Khālimpur plate. There is no hooked type of *ā*, which occurs in the Ghoshrāwā inscription,<sup>5</sup> and also in some earlier inscriptions of Northern India.<sup>6</sup> Initial *i* presents at least two different forms : one consisting of a horizontal line above two circles, *e. g.* in *iti*, l. 7 ; and another in which there are two circles with a hook below them, *e. g.* in *iti*, l. 42. The form

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 243 ff; for facsimile see J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIII, part I, pl. III.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 254 ; for facsimile see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, opposite p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp 307 ff and pl. opposite p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 244. <sup>5</sup> Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 308.

<sup>6</sup> E. g. in the Haraha inscription of 534 A. D., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, facsimile opposite p. 118.

of initial *e* is noteworthy, *e. g.* in *eva*, l. 20. It is not of the looped or closed type occurring for instance in l. 43 of the Khālimpur copper-plate, but represents the proto-Bengali form as found, *e. g.* in the Deopārā inscription of Vijaya-sena (see Bühler's Tafel V, col. XVIII, 7). With the Khālimpur copper-plate the present record bears a general agreement in alphabetic forms, although in regard to a few letters *e. g. gh* and *th* a difference is decidedly perceptible. In the former the letter *gh* has the middle vertical touching the top-stroke, while in the latter it has become shorter in length and does not reach the height of the other two verticals. The letter *th* in the present record shows, side by side with a form, *e. g.* in *Prithu*, l. 6, which has developed out of the type occurring in the Khalimpur copper-plate, another in which the upper half presents an opening to the left of the letter, *e. g.* in *prathītu*, l. 20. Among conjuncts noteworthy is *rth* for which a separate sign is employed.<sup>1</sup> The conjunct *ry* is not denoted by a separate sign as in the Ghoshrāwā inscription, but is indicated by the placing of the superscript *r* on the top of *y*. The sign of *visarga*, in which the lower circle often takes the shape of a hook, is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a type of *anusrāra* approximating the same form. The sign of *acagraha* is used in three out of eight cases.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om svasti* the record is in verse down to the commencement of the formal part of the grant, which is in prose, beginning with *sa khalu* etc. in line 21 and ending with *dharmaṇuśānsana-ślokāḥ* in line 43. This is followed up in lines 43-50 by the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. The concluding portion, lines 50-66, which is a sort of postscript and records the transference of the grant by the donee, is also in verse. In respect of lexicography the only word deserving notice is the indecli-

<sup>1</sup> See Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 244.

nable *śanakam* in l. 57, which stands for *śanakaiḥ* or *śanaiḥ* meaning ‘slowly.’

As regards orthography it may be stated that both *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign ; a *visarga* before a dental sibilant becomes *s* ; a letter following a superscript *r* is occasionally doubled ; final *m* is often assimilated with the following consonant, often retained before *v*, *p*, and *s* and conjoined with them, and in places, though not followed by any consonant, it is changed into *anusvāra*. The scribe has on the whole done his work very creditably, the only mentionable mistakes being the use of *sh* for *ś* in *bhrisham* (l. 55) and the employment of the sign of interpunctuation in places where it is not needed, e. g. between the second and third letters of *nripasya* (l. 54).

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i. e. Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhīrāja*, the illustrious Devapāladeva, who meditated on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i. e. Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhīrāja*, the illustrious Dharmapāladeva (lines 24-26), and consists clearly of two parts : one recording the gift of Devapāladeva and the other recording the transference of the same gift by the donee to a *Vihāra*.

(Part I) : It opens with the usual auspicious formula *om svasti* which is followed by a verse in honour of Buddha (lines 1-4). It then gives in fourteen verses (exactly as in the Mungir plate of Devapāla) the well-known genealogy of the Pāla dynasty beginning with Gopāla and ending with Devapāla (lines 4-21). Then comes the customary description of the Royal Camp, which was situated at Mudgagiri (lines 21-24), the place from where the document is issued. In the formal part of the grant which is now introduced (lines 26 ff.), it is stated that the gift consisted of five villages all lying in the *Sṛinagara-bhukti*, viz., Nandivanāka and Maṇivāṭaka in the Ajapura-

*naya* of the Rājagrīha-*vishaya*; Naṭikā in the Pilipinkā-*naya* and Hastigrāma in the Achalā-*naya* of the same *vishaya*; and Pālāmaka in the Kumudasūtra-vīthī of the Gayā-*vishaya* (lines 26-28). From his camp at Mudgagiri Devapāla informs his various officials and others concerned with the transaction recorded in this document (lines 28-33), that the villages are made over by means of a copper-plate charter for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the provision of offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, alms, lying and sitting accommodation, as well as medicine and other requisites, in respect of 'the multitude of Bodhisattvas' and the Community of Buddhist monks from all quarters comprising the Eight classes of 'great beings,' and also for the copying out of religious texts and the necessary repairs of the monastery,—on being informed through ambassadors that the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Bālaputradeva, Lord of Suvarṇadvīpa, i. e. Sumatra, has established a Vihāra at Nālandā (lines 36-40). Then follows the date of the grant which is the year 39, the 21st day of Kārttika (line 42), and thus concludes the formal part of the grant. The subsequent eight lines, viz. 43-50, contain six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. The next verse, which is introduced in lines 50-51, tells us that the illustrious Balavarman, the ruler of Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala acted as the Dūta of this grant. Ordinarily a royal land-grant should have ended here, after the benedictive and imprecatory verses are put in and the mention of the Dūta is made. But in this particular instance the document continues; and this portion, which is in the nature of an appendix or postscript, may, therefore, be treated as Part II of the Record.

(Part II): It begins with a description of the dynasty to which Bālaputradeva (the donee of Part I) belongs. In the Sailendravamśa (line 52) was born VĪRAVAIKI-MATHANA, king of Yavabhūmi (i. e. Jāvā); his son was SAMAGRĀVĪRA from whose chief queen Tārā, the daughter

of king Varmasetu of the Soma dynasty (line 59), was born BALAPUTRA (lines 59-61). Being attracted by the virtues of Nālandā and through devotion towards Buddha, he erected there a Vihāra (lines 61-62), and having received the aforesaid five villages as a result of entreaties made through his ambassadors, from king Devapāla, made a gift of them (lines 63-64). There is one verse more in which it is prayed that the meritorious act, *i. e.* the grant, may be everlasting (lines 64-66), and this finally brings the document to a close.

As these two parts are included in the same charter bearing the seal of king Devapāla, and as the writing is clearly of one scribe throughout, there is no doubt that the whole instrument including the appended portion was drawn up at one and the same time.

The inscription throws welcome light on the question of cultural relations between the islands of the Indian Archipelago and Northern India. The investigations of Dutch and French Archaeologists have brought to light a mass of facts bearing on India's contribution to the civilisation of the Far East. The most important and salient of them have been given briefly in English by Prof. Vogel in a paper written for the India Society,<sup>1</sup> London, and by Prof. Foucher in another paper written at the instance of the Calcutta University.<sup>2</sup> These give us a fair idea as to the nature and extent of influence India exerted over her neighbours across the seas, in the sphere of art and religion. But the question that presents itself to the historian is of a deeper character. It is true that Indians colonised Sumatra, Java and other islands in the Indian Ocean as well as Cambodia, Siam and so on on the main land. But from which particular part or parts of India did the colonists emigrate to these regions? Southern India has always been looked upon as

<sup>1</sup> *Influences of Indian Art*, pp 30-80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vols.*, Orientalia, part I (Calcutta 1922), pp. 1-35.

the main source from which Indian civilisation was derived by her sea-girt neighbours, and indeed evidence of their being ruled over by princes of South-Indian origin is not wanting. But the question whether or how far Northern India contributed to this spread of Aryan culture has not yet been properly threshed out.

As early as 1876 Burnell published a letter in the *Academy*, recording his impressions of a trip to Java. This letter which was reproduced in the *Indian Antiquary* of the same year contained the following observations : “There was evidently a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A. D., and these took with them a Nāgarī alphabet, which is a great contrast to the old Javanese character ..... These emigrants took with them a highly developed form of the Northern Buddhism.”<sup>1</sup> What these Nāgarī inscriptions were Burnell does not tell us. Eleven years later Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar received a photograph of apparently one of these from a European friend of his named Mr. Baumgarten. The former exhibited it in a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and read also a very learned paper dealing with the contents of the inscription.<sup>2</sup> It records the building of a temple of the Buddhist goddess Tārā as well as a dwelling for *Bhikshus* who are described as versed in the Vinaya and the Mahāyāna, by a king called Kariyāna-Pauṇakaraṇa at the instance of the *Guru* of the Śailendra kings. The inscription comes from a place called Kalasan in Central Java and is dated in 700 Saka, i. e. 778 A. D. In course of his paper Sir Ramkrishna said, “the characters resemble those of North-Indian inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries ; being a good deal like those in the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III., dated 730 Saka or 808 A. D., the grant

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII, part II, pp. 1-10, “A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java.” Also edited by Dr. Brandes in *Tij. voor de Taal, Landen-en volkenkunde van Ned. Ind.*, 1886, p. 240 ff.

of Vākpatirāja of 1031 Samvat corresponding to 975 A. D., and the inscription at Deval in Rohilkhand dated 1049 Samvat or 993 A. D. ; while *the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an inscription found at Ghosrāvan, near the old city of Nālandā in Magadha* or Bihar, which I translated for Mr. Broadly in 1872, and which is to be referred to about the middle of the ninth century.”<sup>1</sup> Later on he said, “In the Fourth Volume of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 356), two small Sanskrit inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters of which are unmistakably South-Indian ; while our inscription is, as we have seen, in the Nāgarī character from the North, especially from Magadha or Bihar, thus, showing that Hindus both from Northern and Southern India went and settled in the island.”<sup>2</sup> The emigrants who are responsible for the script used in the epigraph must have settled in the island not long prior to 778 A. D. They could not certainly have been those, faintly though significantly, referred to by Fa-hien in the fifth century A. D.<sup>3</sup> As Bhandarkar pointed out, “If they established a colony in the island before the beginning of the fifth century and carried with them the Sanskrit alphabet of the time, they could not, if they were cut off from the parent country, develop out of it the fine Nāgarī letters of the inscription before us, so alike in every respect to those in use in Northern India four centuries later.”<sup>4</sup> The Nāgarī characters of Northern India are found also in another inscription discovered at Kloerak in Java which is dated in Saka year 704 *i. e. A. D. 782*. It refers to the consecration of an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Mañjughosha which had been set up at the instance of the preceptor of a king who is called in the inscription ‘the ornament of the Sailendra Dynasty’.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 4. The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> They arrived at a country called Java-dvīpa, “where various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of”—Legge, *Fa-hien*, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Influences of Indian Art*, p. 54.

characters of these Buddhist inscriptions from Java have been pointed out to be in great contrast with those of the Brahmanical records from the island, and in view of this fact Prof. Vogel has rightly remarked, "Are we then to assume that the emigrants who introduced Buddhism into Java came from the North, as the promoters of Brahmanism in all likelihood hailed from the south of the Indian Continent?"<sup>1</sup> Indeed the palaeography of the inscriptions is strongly in favour of such a hypothesis, and so also is the fact that a developed form of Northern Buddhism which included among other things the worship of Tārā and Mañjuśrī prevailed in the island as early as the eighth century A. D.

Now, if Java was influenced by Northern Buddhism, is there anything in its art which is particularly reminiscent of the art of Northern India? In the Raffles collection of the British Museum there is a number of miniature bronze images from Java some of which have been described and illustrated by Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy. Regarding one of these, which is a figure of Mañjuśrī and is assigned by him to the ninth century A. D., he observes that it "closely resembles a sculpture from Magadha illustrated by Foucher (*Iconographic Bouddhique*, Part II. p. 43, fig. 3)."<sup>2</sup> Similar conclusions, I may add, will also be arrived at from a study of the bronze images from Java in the Royal Museum at Batavia, illustrations of some of which have recently been published by Dr. N. J. Krom.<sup>3</sup> The resemblance between the Buddhist images of Magadha of the Pāla period and those of Java cannot be easily ignored and is possibly to be ascribed to the fact that Java derived its Buddhism from Northern India. But the question arises, which part of Northern India contributed to this spread of Buddhism across the seas?

If we turn our attention to the accounts of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53      <sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> N. J. Krom, *De Buddh. Bronzen in het Mus. Bat.* (1912), Plates 13-19. I am obliged to Johann van Manen for a copy of this monograph.

Chinese travellers Fa-Hien, Yuan-Chuang and I-Tsing we shall see that it was the eastern part of Northern India that had systematic maritime relations with the islands of the Indian Ocean and even China, in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries A. D. Fa-Hien boarded his ship at Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk in Bengal) and proceeded on his way to China via Java.<sup>1</sup> Two centuries later when Yuan-Chuang was going back to China, he was assured by king Bhāskaravarman of Karnasuvarna that 'if you select the Southern sea-route then I will send official attendants to accompany you.'<sup>2</sup> This 'Southern sea-route' of the days of Yuan-Chuang lay of course via Tāmralipti. Again in 673 A. D. when I-Tsing came to visit India he landed at the same port along with 'many hundreds of merchants' who went to Central India.<sup>3</sup> He also returned by the same route and observed : "This is the place where we embark while returning to China."<sup>4</sup> A second sea-port of eastern India was Harikela, which was also in Bengal and according to I-Tsing was the 'eastern limit of Eastern India.' From Simhala (Ceylon) he sailed for the North-east and came to Harikela.<sup>5</sup>

Thus there was a convenient route connecting North-eastern India with Java, Sumatra and other islands of the Indian Archipelago. No Indian testimony was however, hitherto available to show that there was actual communication between North-eastern India and these islands. The present record is, therefore, the first of its kind that throws light on this very important topic. For it actually relates how there were interchanges of envoys between Devapāla, the Pāla king of Gauḍa and Magadha and Bālaputradeva, king of Sumatra. The latter built a Buddhist monastery at Nā-

<sup>1</sup> Legge, *Fa-Hien*, p. 100. See R. Chanda, 'Early Indian Seamen' *Ashutosh Moorjree Com. Vol. (Orientalia)*, pp. 117-118.

<sup>2</sup> Beal's *Life of Hiuen-Tsang*, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Takakusu, *I-Tsing*, p. XXXI.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XLVI.

landā and for its maintenance received a grant of five villages from the former. The manner in which this incident is described (see verse 32) shows that Bālaputradeva had great fascination for Nālandā, the premierseat of Buddhism of Northern India, and that he himself was a devout Buddhist. He despatched possibly more than one embassies (*dūtaiḥ*, l. 63) to the Pāla king no dout for the furtherance of Buddhism in his own kingdom. The glory of Nālandā of the days of Devapāla and his connection with it are clearly described in the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīradeva, who was ‘treated with reverence’ by him and was ‘permanently appointed to govern Nālandā.’<sup>1</sup> Nālandā must have had an international reputation as a great centre of Buddhist culture, reaching beyond the seas, even in the time of Yuan-Chuang, and students (like I-Tsing for instance) flocked there not only from different parts of India, but also from distant foreign lands like China, to receive prolonged and systematic instruction in Buddhistic texts and practices. Regarding these foreign students the Chinese traveller I-Tsing himself observes : “They pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in Central India, or in the country of Valabhī (Wālā) in Western India. These two places are like Chin-ma, Shih-chü, Lung-mén, and Ch’ue-li in China, and there eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinion by wise men, become far-famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit (lit. ‘sharp point of the sword’), they proceed to the king’s court to lay down before it the sharp weapon (of their abilities); there they present their schemes and show their (*political*) talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government.”<sup>2</sup> Such was the unique position of Nālandā in those days, and this explains why the king of Sumatra was so anxious to maintain a monastic

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310, ll. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

establishment there, undoubtedly for the convenience of Sumatran pilgrims to this great centre of Buddhism. The present record says that the monastery he built at Nālandā was for the residence of the Saṅgha of Buddhist monks, and he describes himself as its Wealth, Friend and Beauty.

This intimate connection of the Śailendras of Java and Sumatra with Nālandā is a fact of paramount importance and points to Magadha with its great centre of Buddhism viz. Nālandā, as the probable source from which the religion was derived by the islands of the Indian Archipelago. In view of this fact it would be possible to explain the discovery of Buddhist inscriptions in North-Indian characters and of images of the Buddhist pantheon having North-Indian affinities, in the island of Java. These Buddhist inscriptions, as already stated, belong to the last quarter of the eighth century A. D. and would be two or three generations earlier than the time of Devapāla, contemporary of Bālaputradeva, the third king of the Śailendra dynasty. The Śailendra king of Java who is alluded to in these records would therefore be the father, or more probably the grandfather, of Bālaputradeva. Thus the Śailendras seem to have been Buddhists from the very beginning.

About the royal dynasty of the Śailendras of Java and Sumatra much useful information has been collected by Mr. Hīrānanda Sāstrī with the help of Javanese archæologists. The Śailendras, who appear to have been of South-Indian origin, were rulers of the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya, which is the old name of Palembang, in Sumatra. They must have come to power as early as the eighth century A. D. and ruled over their island possessions, which included Java and Sumatra, for close upon four centuries. Lines 52 ff. of the present record describe, as already stated, the family of Bālaputradeva, king of Sumatra. The name of his grand-father is given in l. 52 as Vira-vairi-mathana, who is called king

of Java. The expression *Srī-Vira-vairi-mathan-āvagat-ābhidhānah* is translated by Mr. Śāstri as ‘one whose name was conformable to the illustrious tormentor of brave foes.’ I have, however, no doubt that the word, which is prefixed by *Srī*, viz., *Vira-vairi-mathana*, was his actual name or *viruda*. Mr. Śāstri says that ‘the name of the father of Bālaputradeva is not given at all’ (*op. cit.*, p. 312). It must be noted, however, that more than three verses are devoted to him and the names of his wife, viz., Tārā and of his father-in-law, viz., Varmasetu, are mentioned in the record. It would be impossible to believe that all these are mentioned but not his own name. The first of the three verses devoted to Bālaputradeva’s father is as follows :

तस्याभवन्नयपराक्रमशौलशालो राजेन्द्रमौलिशतदुर्बलिताह्वयुग्मः ।  
सूतुर्युधिष्ठिर-पराशर-भीमसेन-कर्णार्जुनार्जुनं तथशः समराश्वौरः ॥

One would naturally expect here not merely a description of *Vira-vairi-mathana*’s son (*sūnu*) but also his name or *viruda*. And I feel certain that his name or *viruda* was *Samarāgravīra*, which is the last word in the above verse. Names or *virudas* of kings with a word denoting ‘war’ as the first component e. g. *Saṅgrāmabhīma*, *Saṅgrāmadhīra*, *Yuddhamalla* and so on are too well-known from South-Indian inscriptions. If this view be accepted the genealogy of the line of Bālaputradeva would stand as follows :

*The Sailendas.*

Vīravairimathana

|  
Samarāgravīra  
(married Tārā,  
daughter of Varmasetu)  
|  
Bālaputradeva  
(contemporary of Devapāla)

The mention in the inscription (v. 23) that Balavarman, who acted as the *Dūta* in the matter of this copper-plate

grant, was the ruler of Vyāghrataṭīmaṇḍala and the right hand person (*dakṣinabhūja*) of king Devāpāla is interesting. There is of course at present no data to locate Vyāghrataṭī. But it must have been the name of a portion of either Northern or Eastern Bengal. Vyāghrataṭī is mentioned in the Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla and the Ānuliā copper-plate of Lakshmaṇasena<sup>1</sup> as being in the Paundravardhana-bhukti. In the former record the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarman is represented to have received a gift of land from king Dharmapāla in the Vyāghrataṭīmaṇḍala. Although it would be rather tempting to suggest that Balavarman and Nārāyaṇavarman belonged to the same family there are no adequate proofs in support of this conclusion. It is not clear from the inscription whether Balavarman was actually deputed by king Devapāla as an ambassador to the court of the king of Sumatra. One thing, however, is very significant. Devapāla issues this grant from his Camp at Mudgagiri, i. e., Mungir in Bihār and commissions a governor under him in charge of a territory in Bengal to communicate his orders to the Government of Sumatra. This probably means that as Bengal was bordering on the sea Balavarman would unquestionably be in a far more convenient position than anybody else to take charge of this commission which would require him either to proceed to the court of Sumatra, or to meet the Sumatran party that was probably awaiting the orders of king Devapāla, in Bengal.

I append a reading and translation of the record. The first fifteen verses which also occur in the Mungir plate have already been translated by Prof. Kielhorn in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, pp. 257-58, and the rest by Mr. Hīrānanda Sastrī in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, pp. 324-27. On many points I am unable to accept the latter's reading and interpretation and these are indicated

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIX (1900), part I, p. 61.

in the footnotes to my reading. In regard to only one passage, I make my comments here.

In line 38, I read *prajñāpāramit-ādi-sakala-dharma-netrīsthānasy-ārch-ārthe* and not *āyārthe*, and translate not as ‘towards the income for etc.’ but ‘for the worship of etc.’ Further I agree with Dr. Thomas in reading *tatraka-Bodhisattvaganasya* instead of *Tāntrika-Bodhisattvaganasya*, although I cannot accept his interpretation of ‘Bodhisattvagāna’ meaning ‘monks’. This expression frequently occurs in Buddhist literature e. g. *dharmaṁ gachchhāmi śaraṇam Bodhisattvaganam tathā* (*Bodhicharyāratāra*, Ch. 2, verse 26) where the natural sense ‘multitude of Bodhisattvas’ is clearly intended. Mr. Sāstrī has not been able I am afraid to explain the significance of *ashta-mahāpurusha-pudgalasya* which he translates as ‘the eight great holy personages.’ But the real meaning is something different. Buddhist philosophy distinguishes twelve classes of intelligent beings (*pudgalas*). Of these four are of the average ordinary class (*puthujjanas*) and eight of the noble or elect class (*ariya*). Of the eight classes again four are supposed to be in the ‘stations’ of Four Paths (*magga-tthāna*) and the other four in those of the Four Fruits (*phala-tthāna*).<sup>1</sup> These are the *ashtārya-pudgala*, which is the same as the *ashta-mahāpurusha-pulgala*<sup>2</sup> of the present record. In the *Mahāvyutpatti*<sup>3</sup> one of the epithets of Buddha is *rājā āryapudgalānām*, i. e., king of the *āryapudgalas* or ‘the eight elect classes’. The expression *ashta-mahāpurusha-pudgalasya* is here in apposition to *chāturdiś-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya* which follows, and the two expressions taken together would mean ‘the community of monks from four quarters comprising the eight great classes of intelligent beings.’

Regarding place names I should only note that Śrīnagara

<sup>1</sup> *Compendium of Philosophy* (Pali Text Society, 1910), Introduction, pp. 49-50.  
See also *Khuddakipāṭha*, ‘Ratanasutta,’ verse 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ashtau purusha-pudgalāḥ* — *Madhyamakavṛtti*, ed. Poussin, p. 478,

<sup>3</sup> Asiatic Society ed. Part I, p. 92.

was identified with Patna first by Sir Charles Wilkins in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, p. 130, It occurs in the form Śrīnagara-bhukti also in Devapāla's Mungir Copper-plate,<sup>1</sup> and in the form *Nagara-bhukti* on a few Patna seals exhumed by Dr. Spooner, as well as in the Deobaranārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II.<sup>2</sup> As regards Ajapurnaya it may be noted that a place Ajapura is mentioned also in the Bihār pillar inscription of Skandagupta.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 256, l. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Prog. Rep., Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1916-17, p. 43; Fleet, *Gupti Inscriptions*, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 50.

## TEXT.

[N.B. Hyphen has been used in the following transcript to indicate conjunction of letters for which no separate fount is available.]

### Obverse.

- 1 ओ<sup>१</sup> स्तुति । २सिद्धार्थ्य परायं-सुस्थित<sup>३</sup>-मतेस्मन्नार्गमभ्य-
- 2 स्यतस्मिद्विस्मिद्विमनुत्तरां भगवतस्तस्य प्रजासु क्रिया-
- 3 त् [1\*] यस्तैधातुकसत्त्वसिद्धिपदहौरत्युग्रवीर्योदयाज्जित्वा
- 4 निर्वृतिमासपाद सुगतसन्मर्ब्भूमीश्वरः ॥<sup>४</sup> [1\*] सौभाग्यन्दध-
- 5 दतुलं श्रियस्तपद्मा गोपालः पतिरभवद्सुभरायाः [1\*]
- 6 दृष्टान्ते सति कृतिनां<sup>५</sup> सुराज्ञि यस्मिन् अष्टेयाः पृथुसगरादयोप्य-
- भूवन् ॥<sup>६</sup> [2\*] विजित्य येनाजलघेर्वेसुभरा'म्बिमोचिता
- 7 मोघपरिग्रहा इति । सवाध्यमुद्गार्थविलोचनान्-पुनर्वनेषु  
वभून्ददृश्मर्तज्जाः ॥<sup>७</sup> [3\*] चलत्-स्वनन्तेषु वलेषु यस्य  
विखम्भरा-
- 8 -या निचितं रजोभिः ॥<sup>८</sup> पादप्रचारचममन्तरिक्षम्बिहङ्गमानां<sup>९</sup>  
सुचिरम्भूव ॥ ॥<sup>१०</sup> [4\*] शास्त्रार्थभाजा चलतोनुशास्य वर्णन्-  
प्रतिष्ठापय-
- 9 ता स्वधर्मे । श्रोधर्मपालेन सुतेन सोभूत्-स्वर्गस्थितानामनुष्णः  
पितृणां ॥<sup>११</sup> [5\*] अचलैरिव जड्मैर्यदीयैर्विचलङ्घिर्देः  
कदर्थग्रमाना ।
- 10 निरुपस्त्रवमस्त्ररं प्रपेदे शरणं रेणुनिभेन भूतधात्री ॥ ॥<sup>१२</sup> [6\*]

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> The following 15 verses occur also in the Mungir plate of Devapāla (Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 254). The variants of the text are noted below.

<sup>3</sup> The reading in the Mungir plate is *sushira*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre : Sārdūlavikūḍita. Kielhorn and Śāstri read *sarvvartha-bhūmiśvarah*.

<sup>5</sup> This corrects Kielhorn's reading *surinayinām* in the Mungir plate.

<sup>6</sup> Metre : Praharshini. <sup>7</sup> Read *vrasundharām*. <sup>8</sup> Metre : Vaiṁśastha.

<sup>9</sup> There should be here only one stroke denoting the end of the second *pāda*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *antarikṣashī*. <sup>11</sup> Metre : Upajāti. <sup>12</sup> Metre : Indravajrā.

<sup>13</sup> Metre : Aupachchandasika.

केदारे विधिनोपयुक्तपयसां गंगा समेतम्बुधौ ।<sup>1</sup> गोकर्णादिषु  
चाप्यनुष्ठि-

11 तवतात्त्वी(ल्ली)र्थेषु धर्म्याः क्रियाः [ १० ] भृत्यानां सुखमेव यस्य सकला-  
नुद्भृत्य दुष्टानिमान्-लोकान्साधयतोनुषङ्गजनिता<sup>2</sup> सिद्धिः परता-

12 प्रभूत् ॥<sup>3</sup> [ ७ \* ] तेस्त्रैदिविजयावसानसमये<sup>4</sup> संप्रेषितानां<sup>5</sup>  
परैः सत्कारैरपनौय खेदमखिलं स्वां स्वां गतानाम्युवं<sup>6</sup> [ १ \* ]  
क्षत्यं भावयतां

13 यदीयमुचितं प्रीत्या नृपाणामभूत् सोत्-कण्ठं हृदयन्दिवश्चुत-  
वतां<sup>7</sup> जातिस्मराणामिव ॥<sup>8</sup> [ ८ \* ] श्रीपरबलस्य दुहितुः  
च्छितिपतिना रा-

14 इकूटतिलकस्य । रम्मादेव्याः पाणिं गृह्णते गृह्णमेघिना तेन ॥<sup>9</sup>  
[ ९ \* ] धृततनुरियं लक्ष्मीः साच्चात्-च्छितिर्द्वं शरीरिणी<sup>10</sup>  
किमवनिपते: कौत्तिमू-

15 त्तथवा गृहदेवता [ १ \* ] इति विद्धतौ शुच्याचा(रा) वितर्क-  
वतौः प्रजाः प्रकृतिगुरुभिर्या शुद्धान्तङ्गुणैरकरोदधः ॥<sup>11</sup> [ १० \* ]  
श्वास्या प्र( प )तिवतासौ मु-

16 ज्ञारतं समुद्रघृतिरिव श्रीदेवपालदेवम्प्रसन्नवत्तु<sup>12</sup> सुतमसूत ॥<sup>13</sup>  
[ ११ \* ] निर्मलो मनसि वाचि संयतः ।<sup>14</sup> कायकर्मनि( णि )  
च यः स्थितः शुचौ [ १ \* ]

17 राज्यमाप निरुपझवम्पितुर्बेधिसत्त्व इव सौगतं पदं ॥<sup>15</sup> [ १२ \* ]

<sup>1</sup> The reading in the Mungir plate is -*samet-āmbudhau*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *imāñllo*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>4</sup> This corrects Kielhorn's reading *tair=tair* in the Mungir plate. Cf. A. K. Maitra, *Gauḍa-lekhamālā*, p. 36, n.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sampreshitānām*.

<sup>6</sup> Read -*m bhuvam*.

<sup>7</sup> Sāstrī reads *m-divaś=*

<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre : *Āryā*.

<sup>10</sup> This stroke is unnecessary.

<sup>11</sup> Metre : *Hariṇi*.

<sup>12</sup> Read -*detāñ*.

<sup>13</sup> Metre : *Āryā*.

<sup>14</sup> This stroke is unnecessary.

<sup>15</sup> Metre : *Rathoddhatā*.

स्वाम्यद्विर्विजयक्रमेण ।<sup>1</sup> करिभिस्तामेव<sup>2</sup> विन्ध्याटवौसुहामप्लव-  
मानवाष्पय-

18 [ सो ] दृष्टाः पुनर्बन्धवः<sup>3</sup> [ । \* ] कम्बोजेषु च यस्य वाजियु(व)-  
भिर्भूत्यराजौजसो हेषामिश्रितहारिहेषितरवाः काल्ता-  
शिरप्रीणिताः ||<sup>4</sup> [ 13 \* ] यः पूर्वं बलि-

19 ना क्तः क्तयुगे येनागमद्वार्गं वस्तेतायां प्रहतः प्रियप्रणयिना  
कर्म्मेन यो द्वापरे । विच्छिन्नः कलिना शकद्विषि गते कालेन  
लोकान्त-

20 रं<sup>5</sup> येन त्यागपथस्स एव हि पुनर्विस्यष्टमूलितः ||<sup>6</sup> [ 14 \* ]  
आ गङ्गागममहितात्-सपदशून्यामासेतु( तोः ) प्रथितदशास्यकेतु-  
कौर्त्तः [ । \* ] उर्वीमावर्षण-

21 निकेतनाच्च सिन्धोरालच्छीकुलभवनाच्च यो दुभोज ॥<sup>7</sup> [ 15 \* ] स  
खलु भागीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमान-नानाविधनौवाटकसंपादितसेतु-  
बन्धनिहितशै-

22 -लशिखरश्चेष्विभमात्<sup>8</sup> निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटा(टा)श्यामाय-  
मानवासरलच्छीसमारब्धसंततजलदसमयसन्देहात्<sup>9</sup> उदौची-  
नानेक-

23 नरपतिप्राभूतौकृताप्रसेयहयवाहिनीखरखुरोत्खात्खूलौधूसरित-  
दिग्नन्तरालात् परमेष्वरसेवासमायाताशेषज्ञवं ( जंवू )-<sup>10</sup>ही-

24 पभूपालपादातभरनमदवनेः श्रोमुहुगिरिसमावासित-<sup>11</sup> श्रीमज्जय-  
स्कन्धावारात्<sup>12</sup> परमसौगत-परमेष्वर-परमभटा( टा )रक-म-

<sup>1</sup> This stroke is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn reads *karibhi* [ *h̄ srā* ] *m*=*era* and remarks that 'in the lithograph there is no *visarga*, and the syllable here read *srā*, looks rather like *piā* or *miā*' (*op. cit.*, p. 255, n. 24). In all likelihood the above reading would occur in the Mungir grant also.

<sup>3</sup> The reading in the Mungir plate is *bāndharāh*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre : *Sārdūlavikrūṣita*. The reading in the Mungir plate is *chiram vikshitāḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> Śāstri reads *m* instead of *ṁ*. <sup>6</sup> Metre : *Sārdūlavikūḍita*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Rathodihata*.

<sup>8</sup> Śāstri corrects it as <sup>०</sup>*mā-ni=nira*<sup>०</sup> which is unnecessary.

<sup>9</sup> Śāstri corrects it as <sup>०</sup>*dehā-l=udichī*<sup>०</sup> which is unnecessary.

<sup>10</sup> Śāstri reads *Jambu*.

<sup>11</sup> Śāstri reads *samāvāsi* and quotes the same reading at p. 310 of his article.

<sup>12</sup> Śāstri reads *śrīmān*.

25 -हाराजाधिराजः श्रीधर्मपालदेवपादानुधातः परमसौगतः पर-  
मेश्वरः परमभटा(हा)रको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान्देवपा-

26 लदेवः कुशली । श्रीनगरभुक्ती राजगृहविषयान्तःपाति-अजपुरनय-  
प्रतिबद्धसम्बद्धाविच्छिन्नतसोपेत । नन्दिवनाक । मणि-

27 वाटक । पिलिपिण्यकानयप्रतिबद्ध-नटिका ।<sup>1</sup> अचलानयप्रतिबद्ध-  
हस्तिग्राम । गयाविषयान्तःपाति-कुमुदसूत्रवीथी-प्रतिबद्धपालाम-

28 क-ग्रामेषु । समुपगतां( न् ) सब्बनिव राज<sup>2</sup>-राणक । राजपुत ।  
राजामात्य<sup>3</sup> । महाकार्त्तकतिक । महादण्डनायक ।  
महाप्रतीहार । महा-

29 सामन्त । महादौसाधसाधनिक । महाकुमारा( मा )त्य [ । \* ]  
प्रमाण । शरभङ्ग [ । \* ] राजस्थानी । योपरिक । विषयपति  
[ । \* ] दाशापराधिक । चौरोहर-

30 शिक । दाखिक [ । \* ] दाखलपाशिक [ । \* ] श्रीलिक  
[ । \* ] [ गौ]ल्मिक । चेन्नपाल [ । \* ] कोटपाल<sup>4</sup> । खण्डरच्च  
[ । \* ] तदायुक्तक । विनियुक्तक । हस्तश्वोङ्ग-नौवल-व्यापृ-

31 तक [ । \* ] किशोरवडवागोमहिष्विक्त । दूतप्रै[ ष ] शिक ।  
गमागमिक । अभित्वरमाणक । तरिक । तरपतिक<sup>5</sup> गौड़-<sup>6</sup>  
मालव-खण्ड-कुलिक । कर्त्ता-

32 ट ।<sup>7</sup> [ ह्ल ]ण । चाट-भ( ट )-सेवकादीनन्यांशाकीर्तितान्  
खपादपद्मोपजीविनः प्रतिवासिनश्च ब्राह्म(ह्ल)षोत्तरान् भद्रत्तम<sup>8</sup>-  
कुटुम्बि -पुरोगमेदाभ्य-

33 क । चण्डालपर्यन्तान् समाजापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां

<sup>1</sup> The letter *ddha* is dropped in Śāstri's transcript.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the Mungir plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Amātya* instead of *rājamātya* occurs in the Mungir plate.

<sup>4</sup> Read *kottapāla* as in the Mungir plate.

<sup>5</sup> The list of officers in the Mungir plate includes *prāntapāla* which is here omitted.

<sup>6</sup> Śāstri reads *Odra* which he corrects into *Odra* (Orissa). But the above reading is certain.

<sup>7</sup> This stroke is omitted in Śāstri's transcript.

<sup>8</sup> The Mungir plate has *mahattara*.

यथोपरिलिखितस्सम्बद्धाविच्छिन्नतलोपेत-नन्दिवनाक-ग्राम ।

मणिवाट-

34 -कग्राम । नटिकाग्राम । हस्तिग्राम । पालामकग्रामाः स्वसौमा-  
लुण्ठपूतिगोचरपर्यन्ताः सतलाः सोहेशाः साम्बभूकाः सजलस्य-

35 लाः सोपरिकराः सदशापराधाः सचौरोडरणाः परिहृतसर्वपौङ्गाः  
अचाटभटप्रवेशा अकिञ्चित्प्रग्रा [ ह्या ]<sup>3</sup> राजकुलौय-

36 समस्तप्रत्यायसमेताः  
भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राकेन्द्रिति-समकालं<sup>4</sup>  
पूर्वदत्तभुक्तभुज्यमान-देवव्रज्ञदेयवर्जिताः मया

37 मातापित्रोरात्मन[ञ्च] पुरख्यशोभिष्वदये ॥<sup>5</sup> सुव[ सु<sup>६</sup> ]हौपा-  
विप-<sup>६</sup> म[ह्या]राज-श्रीबालपुत्रदेवेन दूतकमुखेन वयम्बिज्ञा-  
पिताः<sup>७</sup>यथा

38 मया<sup>८</sup> श्रीनालन्दायाम्बिहारः<sup>९</sup> कारितस्तत्र भगवतो बुद्भद्वारकस्य  
प्रज्ञापारमितादिसकलधर्मनेत्रोखानस्याचार्यै<sup>१०</sup> ता(त)त्र-

39 क-<sup>११</sup>-बोधिसत्त्वगणस्याष्टमहापुरुषपुहलस्य चातुर्द्विशार्यभिन्न-  
सङ्घस्य बलिचरसत्त्वचौवरपिण्डपातशयनासनग्लान-प्रत्यय-भै

40 षज्यादर्थं धर्मरक्षस्य लेखनादर्थं विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटित-  
समाधानार्थं शासनौकृत्यं प्रतिपादित [ । \* ]: [ । \* ] यतो  
भवद्विः सर्वैरेव

41 भूमिर्द्वानफलगौरवादपहरणे<sup>१२</sup> च महानरकपातादि-भयादानमिद-  
मभ्यनुमोद्य पालनीयं<sup>१३</sup> प्रतिवासिभिरप्याज्ञाश-

<sup>1</sup> Sāstri reads *sarvā* (*pīdāḥ*).

<sup>2</sup> The *ā*-stroke does not seem to occur in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Kielhorn expressed his doubt about the reading of this passage in the Mungir plate. But the reading is certain. <sup>4</sup> Sāstri reads *m* for *ṁ*.

<sup>5</sup> These strokes are meaningless as the sentence does not end here.

<sup>6</sup> The letter *su* is so written that it looks almost like *mu* or *pu*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vayam* *vijñāpitāḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> In Sāstri's transcript these two letters are wrongly put at the end of line 37.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Nālandāyām*.

<sup>10</sup> Sāstri reads *rchā* as *yā*; but the letter is very clear on the estampages. See remarks above.

<sup>11</sup> I accept the suggestion of Dr. Thomas (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 325, n. 3). Sāstri however reads *tāntrika*. See remarks above.

<sup>12</sup> Sāstri reads *pāla(na)*. But the first letter is *pha* and further *dāna-phala-gaura-vaṭ* occurring in this context is well-known from other copper-plate grants.

<sup>13</sup> In Sāstri's transcript this stroke is omitted.

42 वण- विधेयैभूत्वा यथाकालं समुचितभागभोगकरहिरखादिप्रत्यायो-  
पनयः कार्य इति ॥ सम्बत्<sup>1</sup> ३८ क(का)र्त्तिक-दिने २१ [ । \* ]

*Reverse.*

43 तथा च धर्मानुशन्सनश्चोकाः<sup>2</sup> [ ॥ \* ] वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः  
 44 सगरादिभिः [ । \* ] यस्त यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा  
फलं<sup>3</sup> [ 16 \* ]

45 स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा<sup>4</sup> [ थो ] ह[ रे ]त वसुन्धरां । स विष्टायां<sup>5</sup>  
क्षमिभूत्वा पिण्डभिः

46 सह पच्यते ॥<sup>6</sup> [ 17 \* ] षष्ठिम्वर्षसह[स्त्रा]णि<sup>7</sup> सर्वे<sup>8</sup> मोदति  
भूमिदः । आचेषा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव

47 नरके वसेत् ॥<sup>9</sup> [ 18 \* ] अन्यद[त्तां] द्विजातिभ्यो यत्ताद्रक्ष  
युधिष्ठिर महीं महीभूतां श्वेष-दा-

48 नाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥<sup>10</sup> [ 19 \* ] अस्मत्कुलक्रमसुदारसुदा [ ह ]-  
रद्विरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्मग्रास्तडित्-सलिल-  
वुहुद- [ च' ]-

49 चलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥<sup>11</sup> [ 20 \* ] इति  
कमलदक्षाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्यिमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [ । \* ]  
सकलमि-

50 दमुदाहृतं च वु[ धा ] न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्यो विलोप्याः<sup>12</sup> ॥  
[ 21 \* ] दक्षिणभुज इव राज्ञः परवलदलने सहाय-  
निरपेक्षः [ । \* ]

51 दूर्ल्यं श्रीबलवर्मा विदधे धर्माधिकारिःस्मिन् ॥<sup>13</sup> [ 22 \* ]  
अस्मिन् धर्मारम्भे दूर्ल्यं श्रीदेवपालदेवस्य । विदधे श्रीबलवर्मा  
व्याघ्रतटी- मरण्डलाधिपतिः ॥<sup>14</sup> [ 23 \* ]

<sup>1</sup> Read *samvat*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śamśana*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *phalam*; Sāstrī reads it in the original. Metre : Anushṭubh.

<sup>4</sup> Read-*dattām paradattām rā*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *vishṭhāyām*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre : Anushtubh.

<sup>7</sup> Read *shashṭhim*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *svarge*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre : Anushṭubh.

<sup>10</sup> Metre : Anushṭubh. Read *pālanam*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre : Vasantatilaka.

<sup>12</sup> Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

<sup>13</sup> Metre : Āryā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre : Āryā.

52 आसौदशेषनरपालविलोलमौलिमालामण्डियुति विबोधितघादपञ्चः  
 [ । \* ] शैसेन्द्रवंशतिलको यवभूमिपालः श्रीवीरवैरिमथना-

53 [ व ] गताभिधानः ॥<sup>1</sup> [ 24 \* ] हर्म्यस्थलेषु कुमुदेषु मणालिनौषु  
 शहेन्द्रकुन्दतुहिनेषु पदन्दधाना निःशेषदिङ्गुखनिरन्तरलब्ध-  
 गीति [ : ]

54 मूर्त्तेव यस्य भुवनानि जगाम कौत्तिः ॥<sup>2</sup> [ 25 \* ] भूभङ्गे भवति  
 नृप । स्य<sup>3</sup> यस्य कोपान्विर्भिन्नाः सह हृदयैर्हिंषां श्वियोपि ।  
 वक्षाणामि-

55 ह हि परोपधातदच्चा जायन्ते जगति भृषङ्गतिप्रकाराः ॥<sup>4</sup>  
 [ 26 \* ] तस्य भवन्नयपराक्रमशैलशालौ राजेन्द्रमौलिशत-  
 दुर्लभिताद्विः-

56 युग्मः । सूनुर्युधिष्ठिर-पराशर-भौमसेन-कर्णार्जुनाज्जितयशः  
 समराग्रवीरः । ५[ ॥ 27 \* ] उद्गृतमम्बरतला-[ व्य ]धिः  
 सञ्चरन्त्या यत्केनयावनिरजःप-

57 टलं पटोयः ।<sup>6</sup> कर्णानिलेन करिणां शनकम्बितोर्ये-<sup>8</sup>  
 गंगडस्थलौमदज्जलैः शमयास्वभूव ॥<sup>9</sup> [ 28 \* ] अक्षण्यपच-  
 मिवेदमभूङ्गुवन- मण्डलं ।

58 [ कु ]लन्दैत्याधिपस्येव यद्यशोभिरनारतं ॥<sup>10</sup> [ 29 \* ] पौलोमीव  
 सुराधिपस्य विदिता सङ्गल्ययोनेरिव [ प्रीतिः ]<sup>11</sup> शैलसुतेव  
 मन्मथरि-

<sup>1</sup> Metre : Vasantatilaka. Śāstri reads °nugatābhīdhānak.

<sup>2</sup> Metre : Vasantatilaka.

<sup>3</sup> Read *nṛipasya*. The punctuation mark between *pa* and *sya* is misplaced.

<sup>4</sup> Metre : Praharshinī. Read *bhrīśāv-*

<sup>5</sup> Metre : Vasantatilaka. Śāstī thinks that the reading *dhiira* is also possible. But the first letter is clearly *ri* and not *dhi*.

<sup>6</sup> Śāstī reads *talagha(dyū)dhi*.

<sup>7</sup> Śāstī reads *padoltham* which is wrong.

<sup>8</sup> Read *śunakūn vitirṇṇair=*. In Śāstri's transcript *vitirṇṇa* occurs instead of *vitirṇṇair*. I would have expected *śunakuib* instead of *śunakam*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre : Vasantatilaka.

<sup>10</sup> Metre : Anushtubh. Read-*ratam*.

<sup>11</sup> This reading suggested by Śāstri is by no means certain, but may be provisionally adopted. The first letter looks like *Pri*.

59 पीङ्गेर्मार्मुररेरिव । राज्ञः सोमकुलान्यस्य महतः  
 श्रौवर्मसेतोः<sup>1</sup> सुता तस्याभूदवनिभुजोऽग्रमहिषी तारेव  
 ताराह्या ॥<sup>2</sup> [ 30 \* ] माया-

60 यामिव कामदेवविजयौ शुद्धोदनस्यात्मजः स्कन्दो नन्दितदेवघृन्द-  
 हृदयः शशोरुमायामिव । तस्यात्म[स्य] नरेन्द्रघृन्दविनमत्यादारवि-  
 न्दासनः<sup>3</sup> सर्वोर्बीपतिगर्वंखर्वणचणः श्रीबालपुत्रोऽभवत् ॥<sup>4</sup>  
 [ 31 \* ] नालन्दागुणघृन्दलुभ्वमनसा भक्त्या च शौद्धोदनेर्बीधा  
 शैलसरित्तरंगतरलां

62 लक्ष्मीमिमां चोमनां । यस्तेनोवतसौधधामधवलः सङ्घार्थ-  
 मित्रश्रिया नानासङ्गुणभिक्षुसङ्घवसतिस्तस्याम्बिहारः<sup>5</sup> कृतः ॥<sup>6</sup>  
 [ 32 \* ] भक्त्या

63 तत्र समस्तशुद्धवनितावैधव्यदीक्षागुरुं कृत्वा श्रासनमाहितादरतया  
 सम्मार्थ्यरूपं दूतैरसौ । यामां(न्) पञ्च विपञ्चितोपरियथोद्देशा-

64 निमानात्मनः पित्रो[क्षर्णी]कहितोदयाय च ददौ श्रौदेवपालं  
 नृपं ॥<sup>7</sup> [ 33 \* ] यावत्सिभ्योः प्रबन्धः एष्युलहरजटाक्षोभिताङ्गा  
 च गङ्गा गुर्वीं

65 धन्ते फणीन्द्रः प्रतिदिनमचलो हैतया यावदुर्बीं । यावच्चा-  
 स्तोदयाद्री रवितुरगखुरोऽष्टचूडामणी सास्तावत्स्त्वौर्त्तिरेषा  
 प्रभव-

66 तु जगतामसल्क्षिया<sup>8</sup> रोपयन्ती ॥<sup>9</sup> [ 34 \* ]

<sup>1</sup> Śāstri reads *Dharmasetoh*. But the first letter *va* is very clear.

<sup>2</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>4</sup> Read *tasyām vihāraḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>6</sup> In Śāstri's transcript *yam-prārthya* occurs wrongly for *samprārthya*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read *nripam*.

<sup>8</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>*lām sat-*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

## TRANSLATION.

Om ! Welfare !

(Verse 1). May the beatitude attained by Siddhārtha, whose mind is well concentrated upon the cause of others, who is ever making himself accustomed to the Good Path, who having discovered the ways of beatitude for the dwellers of the three worlds by means of supreme exertion has attained Nirvāṇa, and who is the Enlightened one and master of all the stages of of Perfection,<sup>2</sup> lead the people of the Lord to welfare which nothing can transcend.

(V. 2). Possessed of unique conjugal fortune, Gopāla became the husband of the Earth, the co-wife of the goddess of Fortune. Even (the deeds of) Pṛitī, Sagara and others came to be regarded as real<sup>3</sup>, only because there was the example of that good king before the accomplished (world).

(V. 3.). Having conquered the Earth reaching upto the sea and considering that his elephants would now be a useless burden (to him) he set them free, and they retiring to the forests met again, with tears, their near and dear ones who had also tearful eyes.

(V. 4). When his innumerable forces moved, the sky crusted over with the dust of the Earth became for a long time a fit ground for the birds to walk upon.

(V. 5). He became cleared of his debt to his ancestors in heaven, by having a son, Dharmapāla, who followed the spirit of the Śāstras, controlled those that swerved from the path of righteousness and kept the castes confined to their respective spheres of duty.

<sup>1</sup> Bodhisattvas are born for the good of others—cf. *Bodhisattvānān pararthāt anya-karma na kalpate- Śikshāsamuchchaya*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the Ten Bhumis. See Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *tyāgena yo vyadhatta śrauddheyām=Angarāja kāthām* in Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyan-apāla, verse 12.

(V. 6). The Earth in the form of dust took refuge in the undisturbed sky being oppressed by his elephants which wandered about like so many moving mountains.

(V. 7). The servants of that king, who was engaged in uprooting with ease all the wicked ones and in subduing the three worlds, attained liberation in the next world since they kept his company and bathed at Kedāra, performed religious observances at the spot where the Ganges meets the sea, at Gokarṇa and other (sacred places).

(V. 8). On the conclusion of his world conquest the captive princes, who being (now) released returned to their respective kingdoms after being made to forget all the grudge (they bore against him) by means of various marks of high distinction, remembered the good treatment accorded to them by the king, and their hearts yearned for him out of affection as happens to those banished from Heaven, remembering their past existence.

(V. 9). By that householder, the Lord of the Earth, was taken in marriage the hand of Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of Paravala, the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

(V. 10). That pure-souled lady rose above the other members of the royal seraglio by reason of her inherent noble qualities. "Is she an incarnation of the goddess of Fortune, is she the Earth goddess that has assumed a visible shape, is she an embodiment of the king's fame or the tutelary deity (of the royal household)"—Such was the deliberation on which she kept engaged the subjects (of the king).

(V. 11). As from a sea-shell comes forth the precious pearl, so also from that illustrious lady, devoted to her husband, was born a son of beautiful countenance, named Devapāladeva.

(V. 12). Pure in mind, considerate in speech and having purity also in bodily action he inherited the kingdom, free from disquiet, from his father, even as the Bodhisattva, attained the status of the Enlightened one.

(V. 13). When he passed through the Vindhya forest in course of his conquering expedition, his elephants again met

their kindred ones whose tears began to gush forth (at their sight) ; and in the country of Kamboja, his youthful horses after having crushed the power of rival kings, met again their beloved ones, for whom they had long cherished affectionate feelings and with whom they (now) set up a pleasant neigh.

(V. 14). He has most clearly re-opened the path of charity which was first introduced by Bali the in Kṛīta age, along which walked the son of Bhṛigu in the Tretā age, on which Karṇa, the lover of friends, set his foot in the Dvāpara age, but which, since the enemy of the Saka had gone to heaven, was closed by Kali in course of time.

(V. 15). He ruled over the Earth without a rival upto the place hallowed by Gaṅgā's descent, the Bridge testifying to the achievements of Rāvaṇa's enemy, the sea which is the abode of Varuṇa and upto that (sea) wherefrom Lakshmī was born.<sup>1</sup>

(Ll. 21-26). Now from his royal camp of victory, situated at Mudgagiri, where the line of various boats proceeding along the course of the Ganges, appears like a series of mountain tops that had been sunk to build a (second) Setubandha ; where the brightness of the day becomes darkened by the dense herd of rutting elephants and it seems as if the eternal rainy season has set in ; where the sky becomes grey with the dust raised by the hard hoofs of innumerable horses which are brought as presents by many kings of the North ; and where the Earth is bent low under the weight of the footsoldiers of the numberless princes of Jambudvīpa (*i. e.* India) assembled to do homage to the Supreme lord (*i. e.* the king) ;—the devout worshipper of Sugata (*i. e.* Buddha), the Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhīraja, the illustrious DevapālaDeva, who meditates on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata (*i. e.* Buddha), the Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhīraja, DharmapālaDeva, being in good health,—

(Ll. 28-33). commands those that are present, namely, the Rājarāṇaka, the Rājaputraka, the Rājānātya, the Mahākūrtakṛ-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badā pillar inscription, ver. 5, *a-Rerā-janakāt* etc.

*tika*, the *Mahādanḍanāyaka*, the *Mahāpratīhāra*, the *Mahāsāmanta* the *Mahādauḥśādhśādhānika*, the *Mahākumārāmātya*, the *Pramātri*, the *Sarabhaṅga*, the *Rūjasthānīya*, the *Uparika*, the *Vishayati*, the *Dāśāparādhika*, the *Chaurodharaṇīka*, the *Dāṇḍika*, the *Dāṇḍapāśika*, the *Saulkika*, the *Gāulmīka*, the *Kshetrapāla*, the *Koṭṭapāla*, the *Khaṇḍaraksha*, the *Tadāyuktaka*, the *Viniyuktaka*, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, camels, fleet, those in charge of young horses, mares, cows and buffaloes, the *Dūtapaṛiṣṭhāṇīka*, the *Gamāgamīka*, the *Abhitvaramāṇaka*, the *Tarīka*, the *Tarapatičika*, the *Gaudas*, the *Mālāvas*, the *Khaśas*, the *Kulikas*, the *Karṇṇāṭas*, the *Hunas*, the *Chāṭas*, the *Bhāṭas*, the servants and others who are not specified here, those dependent on 'his own lotus feet,' the residents, the best of Brāhmaṇas, from the chief among householders down to the Medas, the Andhṛakas and the Chāṇḍālas,—

(Ll. 26-28). in respect of the following villages : In the Śrī nagarabhukti— Nandivanāka and Manivāṭaka, circumscribed within their respective boundaries, situated in the Ajapura-naya; Naṭikā, situated in the Pilipiṇkānaya and Hastigrāma in the Achalānaya of the Rājagṛiha-vishaya ; and the village of Pālāmaka situated in the Kumudasūtra-vīthi of the Gayā-vishaya :

(Ll. 33-37). Be it known to you that the Mahārāja Bāla-putradeva, Lord of Suvaraṇṇadvīpa, by the mouth of the *dūtakas* (envoys), has informed Us as follows<sup>1</sup> :

"I have built a monastery at Nālandā"—(Accordingly) I have granted by means of a charter the aforesaid villages viz. Nandivanāka, Manivāṭaka, Naṭikā, Hastigrāma and Pālāmaka, circumscribed within their respective boundaries, including grass, pūti plant<sup>2</sup> and pastures, with surface and with mango and *madhūka* trees, with land and water, with *uparikara*, *daśāparādhā*, and police protection, exempt from all forced labour, without being entered by *Chāṭas* and *Bhāṭas*, exempt from all

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Khalimpur plate : *mahāsāmantādhīpati- Śrī- Nārāyaṇvarmaṇapā dūtaka-yuvarāja-śrī-Tribhuvanapālāmukhena vayam=evam vijñāpitah yathā etc.* (ll. 49ff.). There should have been the word *iti* after *vihārah kāritab*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably same as *pūtika*; see Bhānuji on Amara II, 48.

dues, with all the taxes due to the Royal family, according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*, for as long as the Sun, Moon and Earth endure and with the exclusion of (those parts of the villages) that were granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas before, and were or are being enjoyed now, for the sake of the increase of my own<sup>1</sup> merit and fame as well as those of my parents—

(Ll. 38-40) for the worship at the aforesaid place, of the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka, who is the eye of all<sup>2</sup> the Virtues including *Prajñāpāramitā*; for offerings, oblations, abode, garments, food, lying and sitting accommodation as well as medicine for the sick and such other purposes, in respect of the Bodhisattvas (installed) there and the Community of Buddhist monks from the Four quarters, comprising the Eight classes of great personages; for the copying etc. of religious texts; and for the overhauling of the monastery when damaged or broker.

(Ll. 42-42). Therefore, you should all signify your approval to this grant and protect it in consideration of the fact that a gift of land brings great merit (to the giver) and its taking away entails the terror of falling into the great Hell and so forth. The inhabitants (of the villages) also having heard my order should obey it and pay regularly their dues such as *bhāga* and *bhoga* taxes, gold etc. The year 39, the 21st day of Kārttika.

(L. 43). There are also verses in praise of Dharma.

[Here follow six of the customary verses, vv. 16-21].

(V.22). In this religious matter, Balavarmman, who was the right hand as it were of the king and who never required the help (of others) in crushing the forces of the enemy, performed the function of the Messenger.

(V. 23).<sup>3</sup> In this religious function, Balavarmman, the lord of Vyāghratatīmaṇḍala, performed the service of the Messenger of Devapāladeva.

(V. 24). There was a king of Yavabhūmi (Java), known by the appellation of Vīravairiniathana, who was an ornament

<sup>1</sup> I. E. of king Devapāla.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the ten *Pāramitās* or 'transcendental virtues' according to Buddhist texts.

<sup>3</sup> The repetition in this verse of the fact recorded in verse 22 is to be noted.

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of the Sailendra family. The lotus-peta's of his feet were unfolded by the light of the sparkling jewels in the strings around the heads of innumerable princes.

(V. 25). His fame assuming as it were a bodily form travelled throughout the worlds, placing her feet on palaces, lilies, lotuses, conches, the moon, jasmine flowers and snow<sup>1</sup>, and was sung in all the quarters, incessantly and without interval.

(V. 26). When that king bent his brow in anger the Fortune goddesses of his enemies also collapsed along with their hearts. Truly, in this world, those that are crooked invariably get into a variety of ways of effectively striking blow at others.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 27). Of him there was a son Samarāgravīra (by name), who was endowed with a knowledge of the Śāstras, valour and good character, whose two feet were deeply caressed by the hundreds of heads of paramount sovereigns and who acquired as much renown as that of Yudhishṭhīra, Parāśara, Bhīmasena, Karṇa and Arjuna.

(V. 28). The multitude of stinging dust of the earth raised by his army moving in the battlefield and by the wind caused to blow by the ears of their elephants, gradually came down (*i. e.* settled down) from the sky on account of the (rainlike) ichor issuing out of the cheeks (of the elephants).

(V. 29). By his fame the world became eternally deprived of the Dark fortnight and was (thus) comparable to the family of the lord of the Daityas (who had not Kṛishṇa on their side).<sup>3</sup>

(V. 30). The lady named Tārā, who was like Tārā (goddess) herself, a daughter of the great king Varmasetu of the Soma lineage, became the Chief queen of that lord of the earth, just as Paulomī was known to have been that of Indra, Prīti that of the Mindborn one (*i. e.* Cupid), the Mountain's daughter (Pārvatī) that of Śiva and Lakshmī, that of Mura's enemy (*i. e.* Vishṇu).

<sup>1</sup> Fame is conceived by Sanskrit poets as white, hence its comparison with palaces, snow etc. which are proverbially white.

<sup>2</sup> In this verse the words *bhanja* and *rakra* are used as *ślishtu*. The former denotes both 'defeat' and 'bending' and the latter 'crooked' as well as 'bent'.

<sup>3</sup> There is a *ślesha* on *Krishnapaksha*. One of the epithets of Kṛishṇa is *Daityāri*. Just as darkness was made non-existent in the world so also Kṛishṇa was not on the side of the Daityas.

(V. 31). Just as from Māyā was born the son of Suddhodana (*i. e.* Buddha), the conqueror of the god of Love, or Kārttikeya, who delighted the hearts of all the gods from Śiva and Umā, so also from her (Tārā) was born his (Samarāgravīra's) son Bālaputra-deva, before whose lotuslike footstool a host of kings bowed down. He was a past master in lowering the pride of all the lords of the Earth.

(V. 32). With a mind attracted by the excellent qualities o' Nālandā and through devotion for the Buddha, and considering also that the fickle goddess of Fortune is as unsteady as the waves of a mountain stream, he who was the Wealth, Friend and Beauty of the Buddhist Community, built at the above place that monastery, which was white with lofty buildings plastered with stucco and where resided the Community of various monks possessed of virtues.

(V. 33). Having on that behalf respectfully sought through ambassadors the aforesaid ~~for the aforesaid~~ for the aforementioned my purposes from king Devapāla, who was as it were the preceptor in the initiation of the wives of all his enemies to widowhood, he through devotion executed a charter and made a gift of them (*i. e.* the villages), for the increase of the welfare of himself, his parents and the (whole) world.<sup>1</sup>

(V. 34). As long as there is stir on the sea, as long as the limbs of Gaṅgā remain trembling on account of the thick plaited hair of Śiva, as long as the lord of the serpents carries unmoved and without effort, the heavy weight of the Earth everyday, as long as the jewel-like crests of the Eastern and Western mountains are rubbed by the hoofs of the horses of the Sun god, so long also may this pious deed endure establishing virtues in this world.

<sup>1</sup> Cf line 37 above where a similar expression is used in regard to Devapāla, the original donor.



N.C.

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